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ABSTRACT

Research conducted in Tanzania had two purposes: to describe the literacy program and literacy learners and to determine the literacy skill levels of participants and to what use they are putting those skills. Researchers spent a month in each of four villages gaining information about the socioeconomic system, communication, development, the role of literacy, local literacy classes, and the effects of literacy upon the learners and upon the local community . At the same time, 270 of 416 learners were interviewed and tested, and a control group of 59 was interviewed. Some of the findings of the study were the following: (1) the majority of the learners in the literacy programs were middle-aged women; (2) three-fifths had attended school, most for more than 4 years; (3) most of the learners were from the poorer groups of society, and more than 90 percent of them listened to the radio; (4) the literacy program had declined substantially in enrollment since the enthusiasm of the 1970s; (5) about half of the teachers had adequate supplies of reading materials; (6) the results of national literacy examinations showed that several million people achieved literacy over 10-15 years; (7) the literate group scored much higher than the illiterates in terms of functional knowledge; and (8) only one-third of newly literate people perceived any functional reasons for literacy. The findings of the study were reviewed at a workshop at Morogoro, Tanzania, with 37 participants attending, and policy implications were formulated. (Appendixes include a list of workshop participants and the workshop program.) (KC)

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The Tanzania literacy programme: a view from below

Report of an IIEP research review workshop

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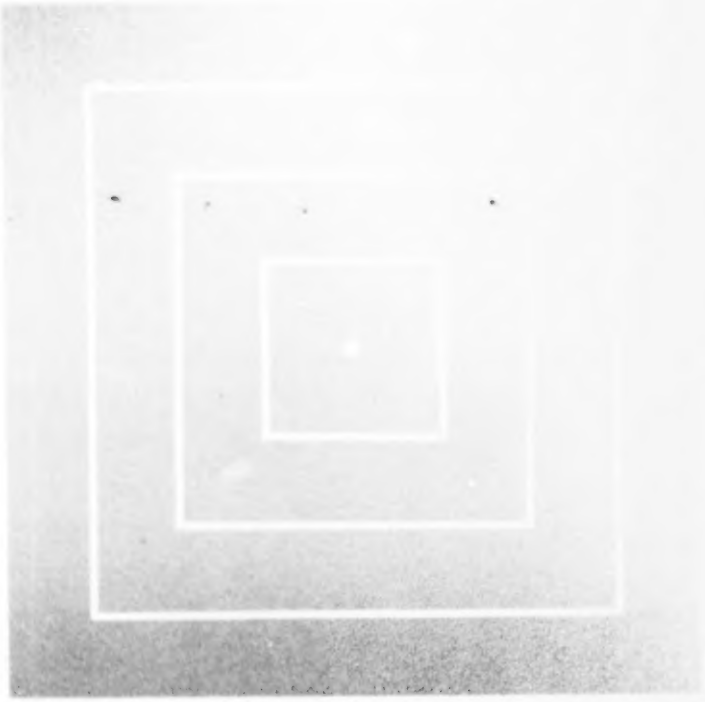

Morogoro, Tanzania
10 - 12 October 1990

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International Institute for Educational Planning
(established within the framework of UNESCO)

The Tanzania literacy programme: a view from below

Report of an IIEP research review workshop
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Chapter 1

Introduction

The purpose of this publication is to make accessible to a wide audience the findings of a study on the effects and functioning of the Tanzanian Literacy Programme and the discussions that took place at a dissemination workshop to consider a draft version of the report on that study. This Chapter, the introductory part of the report, gives a discussion of the international context, and Chapter 2 a brief description of the Tanzanian literacy programme, and the rationale for the IIEP approach to research in this area. Chapter 3 of the report presents the main research findings. Chapter 4, after briefly describing the organisation of the workshop, explores five themes (the clients, the teachers, the content of the programme, post-literacy, and monitoring and evaluation) which were raised at different times during the workshop. Chapter 5 considers the implications of these discussions. Details of the workshop are given in the Appendices.

1. The international context

During recent years, the international community has developed a renewed interest in the problem of illiteracy. Last year was *International Literacy Year*. One of the principal aims of this International Year was to launch UNESCO's plan of action to assist Member States in all regions of the world to eliminate illiteracy by the year 2000. In addition, a World Conference on *Education For All* was organised in Jomtien, Thailand, in March 1990 which proclaimed the right of every person to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs.

These various initiatives reveal a growing consciousness that, in periods of economic recession and adjustments, the human aspects of development tend to be neglected. At the same time, it is being realised that to equip the majority of any given country's population with basic modern communication skills is an essential prerequisite for an efficient and equitable development process.

Reflecting this general concern of the international community and, as part of its Medium-Term Plan (1984-1989), the IIEP has launched a modest training and research programme focusing on the improvement of the functioning of literacy programmes at the local level.

In April 1984, a *Sub-regional workshop on the improvement of the local level administration in national literacy programmes* was organised in Nyeri (Kenya), which brought together practitioners and researchers from East Africa (Ethiopia, Kenya, malawi, Tanzania) as well as representatives of several organisations (IIEP, BREDA, UNICEF, IDRC, AALAE). During this workshop, the situation of research on literacy in the countries represented was examined and priority topics for future studies were identified. It was

pointed out that, while literacy research was generally underdeveloped in the region, the study of effects of literacy, although vital for the purpose of improved planning and management, had been particularly neglected. It was then proposed that a research project in this area be undertaken as a follow-up of the workshop. It was also recommended that a micro-qualitative approach be used for this project and that local level administrators be fully involved in its implementation.

Consequently, a first study was launched in Kenya as a co-operative effort among the *Department of Adult Education* (DAE), the *International Institute for Educational Planning* (IIEP) and the Canadian *International Development Research Centre* (IDRC). The draft report of the study was completed by the middle of 1989 and consequently submitted for discussion at a workshop which took place in Nairobi, Kenya from 27 to 29 November 1989. A report on this workshop is being published at the same time as this report on the Tanzanian study.

2. The Tanzanian literacy campaign

In 1961 when Tanzania became Independent, 75 per cent of the adult population were illiterate. According to the population census of 1967, this had been reduced to 69 per cent, but there was still a long way to go. Following the Arusha declaration of 1967, the strategy of a mass campaign was adopted.

The Adult Education Department was transferred from the Ministry of Regional Administration and Rural Development in July 1969 and 1970 was declared *Adult Education Year*. In the same year Adult Education Co-ordinators were appointed at regional level, and by 1975 the structure had permeated to every Ward. Centres were selected and committees set up to oversee their functioning; 10 per cent of the educational budget was allocated to adult education; teachers were trained through trainers' teams based at the regional level.

The Campaign adopted the concept of *Functional Literacy* following on from the UNDP/UNESCO Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Pilot Project in the Lake Regions during 1968-1972. Literacy teaching was to be integrated in the teaching of vocational skills. Twelve different primers were written on better cotton, banana, rice, maize, coconut, cashewnut, tobacco, wheat, cattle keeping, fishing, home economics, and political education. The main literacy programmes were to be supported by a network of rural libraries, rural newspapers, correspondence courses and film education, as well as offering post-literacy classes.

The programme is conducted entirely in Kiswahili, and the achievements of the programme are monitored through national testing exercises which have been held in 1975, 1977, 1981, 1983, 1986 and 1989. According to these tests, literacy has been reduced from 75 per cent in 1961 to 9.6 per cent in 1986. The Department aims to eradicate illiteracy entirely by the year 2000.

Meanwhile, the Department recognises a certain number of problems, such as the poor motivation of learners, the low incentive for literacy teachers and the inadequacy of their training, the lack of materials and equipment for the classes, and, in many cases, the

lack of spectacles for the learners. Among other plans, they intend to recruit full-time permanent teachers and to reinforce the supporting programmes.

In the early 1970s, the massive campaign to eradicate illiteracy, domestically, was a political success: everyone knew that the government was devoting substantial resources for the development of the poorest. Internationally, the Tanzanian campaign was a model for several others. But, despite a biennial programme of national testing, no-one really asked whether the campaign was effective in bringing literacy to the people and what impact the campaign had had on their lives. The research being discussed at this workshop was designed to explore some of these issues.

3. Researching the effects of literacy

Over the last few decades, an increasing number of countries have embarked upon the organisation of nation-wide literacy programmes. Although the rationale behind those programmes varies from country to country, it is generally expected that efforts to increase the literacy levels of adults will have positive consequences for both the learners and the nation as a whole.

It is worth noting, however, that until now empirical evidence which could support these expectations remains extremely weak. By and large, adult literacy has been a neglected area in terms of data collection and research. In many countries it may even be difficult to find precise information about simple facts such as the number of adults enrolled in literacy classes, the number of instructors or the number of literacy proficiency certificates which have been issued.

When it comes to effects of literacy, the lack of appropriate information is even more preoccupying. There are several studies that demonstrate the positive effects of a given number of years of primary schooling on farmers' productivity. There are also macro-quantitative analyses about the relationship between literacy rates and indicators of economic development and social well-being (health, nutrition, employment, family size, etc.). But, one can hardly find case studies which specifically deal with adult literacy programmes, the way they operate or the results which they produce.

Hence, discussions about literacy tend to be largely dominated by normative statements while policy makers and planners do not have the empirical data base which could help them develop strategies for maximising the benefits of their actions.

This research project on the functioning and effects of the adult literacy programme in Tanzania, together with the companion study on the Kenya programme, intends to make a modest contribution in the reduction of this important knowledge gap[1].

1. The full report of this study will be published as an IIEP report under the title *The functioning and effects of the Tanzanian literacy programme* by R. A. Carr-Hill, R. Chengelede, A. Kwicha and M. Rusimbi. The Kenyan study has already been published as an IIEP Research Report No. 76, *The functioning and effects of the Kenya literacy programme* by G. Carron, K. Mwiria and G. Righa, IIEP, Paris, 1989.

Chapter 2

The study in Tanzania

The term *effects* of literacy learning can be analysed at three different levels. The *first* has to do with the extent to which people really learn what they are supposed to learn. To what extent do they master the skills of the 3Rs and the information (about health, family planning, production, etc.) which constitutes the content of the literacy programme. The *second* relates to the actual use participants are making of what they have learned. Do they read, write and do calculations? Do they apply family planning techniques, change their nutritional habits, etc.? The *third* level relates to the impact of the literacy programme. To what extent does a literacy programme have a real influence on the lives of the adult learners and on their social environment in terms of income (through, say, increased productivity), improved health (through, say, better nutritional habits), better housing and social communications?

The present study only deals explicitly with the first two questions. Any meaningful research on the impact issue, which is the most complicated to investigate, would have implied a different research design than the one we have adopted and would have required the mobilization of resources which were beyond our capacity. These are the reasons why the issue is not being explicitly addressed, even if the analyses may provide some indications about certain effects of literacy learning on the living conditions of the participants.

A micro qualitative approach has been adopted, involving the compilation of detailed case studies of a small number of locations and including interviews and tests with those who have recently passed the national literacy examination.

The objectives of the study are the following:

- to give a detailed description of the conditions under which the Tanzanian literacy programme is functioning at the grassroots level by analysing, in depth, the situation in a few local communities;
- to find out who the literacy learners are, their general characteristics, home environment and educational experience and their situation in the community; and whether women constitute a distinct group;
- to measure the levels of literacy and numeracy skills and the levels of functional knowledge and attitudes acquired by both male and female participants, and to relate these to the community/environment in which they live and work;

- to evaluate the extent to which the learners could use and are using the skills and knowledge acquired in the literacy classes in their daily lives, and whether women's experiences were different; and
- to identify some of the major factors that are influencing the acquisition and use of literacy skills and functional knowledge, for both men and women.

1. The study design

Four 'contrasting' villages were chosen for study as follows:

Suburb/Village	*District*		
Buguruni	Dar-es-Salaam	Urban	Tertiary sector
Mbweera	Hai	Rural	Cash cropping
Ugwachanya	Iringa Rural	Rural	Subsistence
Kalinzi	Kigoma	Rural	Mixed

The research instruments were designed at an initial workshop in November 1988 and were tested in the first months of 1989, with the main field work being carried out in April and May of the same year.

A common approach has been applied to each of the villages. The researchers spent a month in each village eliciting information about:

- the socio-economic system and local forms of communication;
- the perception of development and of the role of literacy, by the adults and by the organisers;
- the functioning of the literacy classes at the local level; and
- the effects of literacy upon the learners and upon the local community.

At the same time, questionnaires were administered to learners. They were deliberately based upon the model already used in Kenya, with minor modifications: in particular, an attempt was made to devise questions about functional knowledge and attitudes and about modern practices which would be relevant to issues of gender discrimination. The tests for literacy and numeracy were based upon those already used in the Tanzanian context. Questionnaires were administered to the learners, who had graduated from the programme in 1981, 1983 or 1986, together with a test of literacy and numeracy. A questionnaire was also administered to the literacy teachers.

Table 1 shows how many learners were interviewed and tested in each village.

Table 1. Numbers interviewed and tested

	Interviews with learners who graduated in:					
	1981	1983	1986	Total	Tested	%
Buguruni	7	14	75	102	47	46
Mbweera	51	31	34	116	55	47
Ugwachanya	2	8	91	104	84	81
Kalinzi	16	35	43	94	84	89
	76	88	243	416	270	65

Interviews were also held with control groups of 20 illiterates in each of Buguruni and Ugwachanya, with 15 in Kalinzi and with only 4 in Mbweera (because illiteracy had been eradicated). Literacy and numeracy tests were conducted with 20 pupils from Standard IV in each location.

2. Pen portraits of the sites

Briefly the locations can be characterised as follows.

Buguruni is a suburb of Dar-es-Salaam, which has grown very rapidly and without any set plans. It is now a squatter area where amenities and conditions are poor and the majority of the population struggle hard to make both ends meet through petty trading and crafts, as well as keeping a shamba outside the city. Essentially it is acting as a labour reserve for the city of Dar-es-Salaam. However, it is a relatively cosmopolitan suburb: half speak Zaramo, the remainder speak the whole range of languages; nearly three-quarters are Moslem. Whilst literature and newspapers are easily available here, the population's poverty makes them inaccessible; however, many listen to (someone else's) radio.

Mbweera is a permanently settled and stable traditional community. Houses are solidly built and water has been canalised to most homes in the village. There are long established co-operatives and shops, and there is a long tradition of schooling in the area. Although very few newspapers are available, there is a functioning library. Similarly, religions are long established. Partly because of the development of commerce, women tend to be more liberated here than in other areas.

Ugwachanya is a recently established Ujaama village, bringing together several ethnic groups. The majority of the population are engaged in subsistence farming, although there is a small group of rich farmers. Its location, bordering the Dar-es-Salaam-Tuduna road, means that it holds a quasi peri-urban status with some of the village dependent on passing trade, at least to supplement their income. Whilst a DANIDA project has brought tap water to most homes and the influence of Tossamanga mission is still felt, living conditions and social services are poor.

Kalinzi is remote, closer to Burundi than its regional headquarters. Its favourable climate attracted settlers from the beginning of the century, which implied a relatively early introduction of education (1925). During the rainy season the road is almost impassable, its consequent isolation has prevented the area assimilating new development initiatives until

the villageisation programme associated with Operation Kigoma launched in 1972. Since then, with the introduction of coffee as a cash crop, economic activity has expanded and there is now a strong co-operative dominated by men, but even the predominantly female food producers are engaged in a lively market. Kalinzi is a community on the move. It is relatively well served with social amenities. Despite the influx of population since the launch of Operation Kigoma, the culture remains homogeneous and celebrated.

Chapter 3

Main findings of the research

1. Characteristics of the learners and their home environments

The majority of the learners in the Tanzanian literacy programme are middle aged women. In the sample interviewed here, 57 per cent were women and, in contrast to the Kenyan study, very few (16 per cent) were under 30, with nearly a third over 45. The samples in Mbweera and Kalinzi were older; there were more women in Buguruni and Ugwachanya (*see Table 2*). The illiterates are preponderantly female, and, on the whole, older.

Table 2. Distribution of learner sample by age group and gender (N = 402)

	Under 30		30 - 44		45+		All	
Location	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Buguruni	10	18	17	34	12	9	39	61
Mbweera	0	0	20	36	27	20	47	56
Ugwachanya	3	25	13	33	14	8	30	66
Kalinzi	0	7	27	24	27	9	54	40
	13	50	77	127	80	46	170	223
Illiterates	2	7	2	16	11	19	15	42

Missing age data: 23 literate (8 men, 15 women); 2 illiterates (both men)

Most of the learners (85 per cent) were married and were responsible for 4 or 5 children as well as 2 or 3 other dependents.

In educational and cultural terms, three-fifths had attended a school; moreover, nearly half the whole sample had been at primary school for four years or more (the conventional minimum for literacy). There are substantial variations with over two-thirds in Mbweera having experienced the four years; compared to under a third in Kalinzi; which relates to the pattern of socio-economic development with Mbweera being a settled and stable community, whilst both Buguruni and Kalinzi have experienced substantial immigration. Also, Ugwachanya is the poorest of the four locations. Overall, a surprisingly large proportion has already been to school *(see Table 3)*. Of course, it may be that, in spite of their schooling, they have never mastered the literacy and numeracy skills. It may also be that they have simply forgotten how to read and write, which is consistent with them being rather older than the typical learners in other countries; it may be that they were attracted by the possibility of income-generating projects associated with the classes. Whatever the explanation, it needs to be taken account of in planning the programmes.

Table 3. Learner samples: numbers who have attended primary school

	No	Yes	Total	% of Those Spending 4 Years At School	Mean Year Attended
Buguruni	47	55	102	67	4.6
Mbweera	27	89	116	82	4.0
Ugwachanya	33	70	103	84	4.5
Kalinzi	55	39	94	74	3.9
	162	253	415	78	4.2

Whilst the proportion who had attended primary school was lower for women than men in each district, the difference (overall 57 per cent women and 67 per cent men) was not striking.

Except in Buguruni, where there was a mixture of ethnic groups, the sample was homogeneous in each location. Whilst more than two-thirds of the sample in Buguruni, Mbweera and Ugwachanya claim fluency in the national language, the fact that over a quarter of all learners report only being able to speak Kiswahili a little is worrying, since it is the teaching medium through which they were supposed to become literate. Women are again at a slight disadvantage as far as fluency in Kiswahili is concerned. Finally, whilst the overwhelming majority of the sample in the three rural areas reported Christianity as their religion, three-quarters of those in Buguruni reported Muslim.

The occupations of the learners reflected the variety of socio-economic environments studied, although they tended to be drawn from the less educated and poorer segments of each local society. Thus in Buguruni, although a reserve labour area for the capital city of Dar-es-Salaam, only a quarter of the respondents were wage earners, with the majority being involved in petty trade or crafts. In Mbweera, where the majority of the population are actively engaged in production for the local markets, only a third of learners were so engaged; that these respondents were 'marginal' is illustrated by the difficulty of composing a control group of illiterates. The picture in Ugwachanya is less clear, as the whole village appears to be impoverished. Nevertheless, whilst there was some commerce and trade, most of these learners were subsistence farmers, brewing bamboo juice or beer to provide a little cash income. Only in Kalinzi did respondents appear to be representative of the mainstream economic activities of their locality, with nearly 70 per cent involved in some form of cash cropping; they were also the least likely to have attended primary school. On the whole, women had almost exactly the same occupational profile as the men.

Clearly, people in Mbweera are 'better off' than elsewhere, and those in Kalinzi are part of a growing economy. Those in Ugwachanya are living mostly at a subsistence level whilst providing some services to those plying the main North South road, and the respondents in Buguruni are typical of the picture painted by several authors of a peri-urban twilight community. These variations would be expected to have corresponding implications for their involvement in a literacy programme.

Given that the learners are drawn from the poorer groups of society, there are considerable variations in living conditions between the respondents in each of the localities. Whilst the materials used in walls vary according to local availability, the houses in

Buguruni and Mbweera are much more likely to have corrugated iron roofs and artificial lighting of some kind. In both locations and in Ugwachanya, where DANIDA had installed a water system, nearly all respondents had water in, or canalised near their home. On these criteria, Kalinzi is ranked below Ugwachanya, but it should also be noted that the houses in Kalinzi have more bedrooms than any of the other rural locations. Illiterates rank lower on all criteria.

Apart from remarking that illiterates possess no books, the pattern of the possession of books is less easily related to development and wealth. Whilst more of those in Mbweera report books in the house, detailed tabulations show that these are mostly religious books which could have been given by local missions. When ranked in terms of instructional and other books, Buguruni and Ugwachanya have the most, probably reflecting the distributional network more than anything else (*see Table 4*). Unsurprisingly, attendance at primary school is also related to the number and kinds of books in the house.

Table 4. Possession of books (row percentages)

Location	Any books in house	Instructional books	Religious books	Other books
Buguruni	63	60	43	42
Mbweera	84	39	90	32
Ugwachanya	56	52	58	35
Kalinzi	63	30	75	19
	67	45	67	32

More than 90 per cent of adult learners in each district listened to the radio. The most popular programmes were news and sports programmes listened to by about two-thirds of the sample. Just less than half listened to instructional programmes and about two-fifths reported listening to entertainment programmes (*see Table 5*).

Table 5. Learner sample: listening habits (N = 408)

		Percentage listening to different kinds of programmes				
	Average number of programmes	Sports	News and announcements	Instructional	Entertainment	None
Buguruni	4.7	84	100	67	69	0
Mbweera	2.7	52	89	28	24	9
Ugwachanya	3.4	68	82	49	38	18
Kalinzi	2.9	59	86	43	24	10
	3.4	67	89	46	38	9

There was a systematic relation between listening and reading habits: more than 60 per cent of those with two or more kinds of instructional books in the home listen to two or more kinds of instructional programmes, compared to less than 30 per cent of those with no such books in the home. Nearly two-thirds of those with two or more kinds of religious books in the home listen to a religious programme, compared to less than half of those with none or one.

2. The functioning of the literacy programme

An important finding of the study is that the literacy programme has declined substantially since the enthusiasms of the seventies. In Buguruni the programme had effectively stopped: and, in Kalinzi, of the 45 classes started in 1986 with over 1,000 enrolments, only three were still functioning, and two of those were run by missionaries. The situation was a little better in Ugwachanya: there are five centres running, 12 literacy classes and three post-literacy classes, and in Mbweera, where some 250 adults are currently attending classes. It is noticeable that the situation is best in the more developed locations, where the infrastructure of the programme is better and the functionality of knowing how to read, write and calculate becomes more evident.

Moreover, less than a fifth of learners in the four locations are currently attending, and less than a third had ever attended, post-literacy classes. Indeed it seemed that, despite quite large official enrolments nationally in post-literacy classes, very few classes have actually functioned since the beginning of the eighties. Moreover, it is doubtful that those that were provided corresponded to learners' needs and preferences: for example, no post-literacy classes in basic English were reported in the four sample locations.

A variety of reasons for this decline were examined. First, in conjunction with the progression towards universal primary education, the mass literacy campaign may have been so successful as to become redundant. However, this seems unlikely given the known drop-out rates from primary school and the substantial numbers still officially enrolled in the literacy programme. There would in any case remain a strong need for post-literacy classes and these seem also to have declined.

Second, the nature and quality of the programme itself is examined. It was found that overall the material situation was less dramatic than expected. There were no signs that it had substantially deteriorated over the last 10 to 15 years.

When asked about learner aids, about half the teachers reported adequate (at least one between two) primers, pencils and exercise books, though only a third reported adequate rubbers. Classes in Buguruni were on the whole better equipped than elsewhere (*Table 6*). On a stricter criterion of adequacy (that everyone has one) only a handful of teachers reported adequate availability. Equally, whilst at least two-thirds reported a blackboard, chalk and readers, less than 20 per cent reported posters, cards, calculators, and pamphlets. Once again, classes in Buguruni were better served (*Table 7*).

Table 6. Number of teachers reporting at least one between two learners (everyone)

	Number	Primers	Pencils	Exercise books	Rubbers
Buguruni	14	10 (3)	12 (5)	13 (4)	7 (2)
Mbweera	10	5 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (1)
Ugwachanya	9	5 (4)	3 (1)	4 (0)	3 (0)
Kalinzi	17	5 (2)	8 (0)	10 (4)	6 (2)
Total	50	25 (11)	23 (6)	27 (8)	18 (5)

Table 7. Numbers of teachers reporting teacher aids

	Numb.	Black-board	Chalk	Readers	Posters	Cards	Calcu-lators	Pamphlets	Other
Buguruni	14	12	13	12	4	1	4	4	0
Mbweera	10	9	9	7	3	2	0	0	0
Ugwachanya	9	4	8	7	0	1	0	0	0
Kalinzi	17	9	11	7	2	1	4	0	2
Total	50	34	41	33	9	5	8	4	2

The two areas most disadvantaged in other respects -- Buguruni and Ugwachanya -- seem relatively well provided for. This is probably due to their proximity to the main distribution networks. However, participation in the centres is lacking. Local leaders, despite their rhetoric about the importance of literacy -- and in some cases their own experience of becoming literate through the classes -- were not involved in motivating illiterates to attend. An indication of this was the lack of effective centre committees. Thus, under half (21) of the teachers reported a centre committee, and only eleven reported meeting during the last three months. Though many more women than men were enrolled in the literacy classes, in only 7 of the 16 centres for which data was available were there more women than men on the committee. Finally, only 13 teachers recalled the kinds of subjects that were discussed at these meetings: in about half attendance had been discussed, the next most popular subject being teaching methods.

Whilst primers appeared to be available in most classes -- slightly more than half of the overall sample of learners reported having used two or more primers -- the intended 'matching' of primers to the local production profile appeared, in practice, to be a little arbitrary (*Table 8*). The learners were asked to name the primers that had been made available in the literacy classes. The most often mentioned were the primers on maize, on political education and on child care (124 mentions). Those in Buguruni and Ugwachanya mentioned more primers than those in Mbweera and Kalinzi, reflecting their relative position on the route network. Respondents in Buguruni were more likely to mention the primers on child care and on political education, whilst those in Ugwachanya had been more exposed to the primer on maize. Only a small number (46) remembered the primer on coffee, only five in Kalinzi (where coffee is a developing cash crop); and only 57 remembered the primer on fishing, the majority of those in Buguruni and Ugwachanya (where there are no lakes to fish in!).

Table 8. Use of primers (by subject area)

	Child care	Coffee	Maize	Fishing	Political education	Other	Total
Buguruni	49	16	56	24	53	21	219
Mbweera	30	19	70	9	46	13	187
Ugwachanya	35	6	87	16	46	17	207
Kalinzi	10	3	74	7	34	16	144
	124	44	287	56	179	67	757

As for the personnel, whilst there were, in principle, sufficient teachers, 28 per cent of those interviewed had not even completed primary education, 62 per cent had just completed primary school, and the rest had received some form of secondary education. Only in Mbweera were most (8 out of 10) primary school teachers. The teachers interviewed were of all ages with approximately equal numbers of men and women. Most were local and nearly three-quarters claimed to have been teaching literacy for at least five years. There was practically no infrastructural support for the teachers (courses, visits, etc.) and they were paid hardly anything.

Those adult literacy teachers who were also primary school teachers, whilst claiming to be happy with their adult literacy teaching, prefer teaching children. But the majority preferred teaching adults and, in the main, gave political reasons for their choice. It must not be forgotten that the material incentive to be an adult literacy teacher in Tanzania is non-existent.

Surprisingly, when asked what were the essential ingredients of learning, about twice as many pointed to the quality of teachers as to the motivations of learners (*Table 9*).

Table 9. Teachers' views on ingredients for learning

	Motivation of learners	Quality of teachers	Both
Buguruni	4	6	3
Mbweera	4	4	1
Ugwachanya	0	5	4
Kalinzi	2	6	9
Total	10	21	17

Finally, when reflecting on the decline of the programme, with the exception of some respondents in Mbweera and Kalinzi, the intended participants saw little connection between literacy and their development problems. Compounded with the economic crisis this has led to a general lack of motivation both among learners and teachers. Moreover, it must be emphasized that literacy can only be functional when other conditions are met: one might know that one should eat fruit, but they may not be available; one might know which seeds to use but not be able to afford them; one might know how to read a newspaper, but not be able to buy one; and so on. With the exception of Mbweera, these other conditions seemed to be rarely met in the selected villages.

3. The effects of the literacy programme

First, it should be emphasized that the results of the National Literacy Examinations are, by any standards, spectacular. Several millions were made literate over 10-15 years. Moreover, it appears that most of those who enrol in the programme eventually reach Level III or IV (the passing grades). On the other hand, although it is difficult to be precise as, in the Tanzanian system, learners may be tested several years after they have finished classes, it was clear from field observations that many participants take several years to reach these levels. As in Kenya, the internal efficiency of the programme is low.

Nevertheless, for many learners there is still a doubt as to the extent to which they master and retain the material they were supposed to learn; and whether or not they are able to apply in their daily lives what they have learned. These two questions have been asked concerning both the basic literacy and numeracy skills and about the functional aspects of the programme.

3.1 Functional attainments

In an attempt to find out the effect of attending literacy classes, a small control group of illiterate adults was also interviewed in each location. It is, however, recognised that the functional content of most of the topics on which questions could be posed which related to the content of the primers is pretty general, and could be gained from other formal and informal sources of learning.

Nevertheless, in terms of the functional knowledge questions, the literate adult group scored much higher than the illiterates (*see Table 10*). Of course, it cannot be claimed that the differences in performance can be attributed directly to the programme, especially as some of those who enrolled in the programme had also benefitted from schooling.

Table 10. Functional knowledge percentage giving correct answers

	Literates	Illiterates
Which foods for energy	34	20
Which foods protect disease	52	22
Which diseases brought by flies	69	46
Against which diseases does vaccination protect	52	36
Why wash clothes	78	71
What is a natural fertiliser	86	75

In contrast to the results of the Kenya study, however, although there were some differences in responses to the questions about modern practice, very few differences were observed for the attitude questions (*see Tables 11 and 12*). It seems fair to conclude that the literacy programme does impart knowledge, but, on the basis of this comparison, its impact is much less clear on 'modernity'.

Table 11. Percent agreeing to traditional statement

	Literates	Illiterates
Family sizes	51	60
Appropriateness of fruit	82	79
Share child care	15	27
Women leaders	9	11
Dowry	96	88
Latrines	54	69
Child spacing	4	17
Baby feeding	13	25
Women's income	57	53
Boy/girl preference	15	22

Table 12. Percent practising in traditional ways

	Literates	Illiterates
Boy-girl preference	15	22
Frequent fruit eating	70	84
Type of seeds	38	9
Deciding on family income	16	14
Who fetches water	90	93
Who fetches wood	79	80
Tree planting	50	76
Agricultural extension	74	87
Eating together or not	43	51

Within the group of literate adults, however, there were substantial contrasts between villages. Whilst those in Ugwachanya performed very well on the functional knowledge question, they performed worst in terms of practices; those in Mbweera performed poorly in terms of knowledge and attitudes, but best in terms of practices; those in Kalinzi had the most modern attitudes, but scored lowest on the functional knowledge items (*see Table 13*). These differences could be related to variations between the locations in the level of information required to function effectively, the material possibilities to use their skills, and the extent to which literacy was a typical means of communication.

Table 13. Ranking of areas on indices of functional knowledge, attitudes and practices

	Functional knowledge	Modern attitudes	Modern practices	Membership of associations
Buguruni	2	3	4	2.5
Mbweera	3	4	1	1
Ugwachanya	1	2	2	4
Kalinzi	4	1	3	2.5

Thus in Mbweera, a developed diversified economy, 'functional' practices were part of everyday life and so were important even for those in our sample -- who are at the bottom of the heap; whilst at the other extreme, the opportunities for self-development in Ugwachanya are limited, whether or not one behaves in a 'modern' way. Nevertheless, even in Ugwachanya, a tendency to behave in a more modern way suggests that one is part of the mainstream of society in a way illiterates are not. In contrast, the relative scores on the question about functional attitudes suggest that these questions were measuring a general view about development. Thus in Mbweera one can afford to retain traditional attitudes -- or be cynical about modern ones! -- so long as market behaviour is appropriate; in Kalinzi the economy is expanding and so there is a general air of optimism.

These differences between villages overlapped with differences along other dimensions. Those who had attended primary school scored higher in all three sets of questions, those who had attended for four or more years higher still. Equally, those who possessed or read books scored higher than those who used their literacy skills infrequently. Older people had more traditional attitudes: women tended to score lower but not by a large amount.

Finally, the relative scores on the three sets of questions show the fragility of the link between knowledge, attitudes and practice. A good performance in terms of functional knowledge does not automatically lead to modern attitudes or correct practices. Thus, the good scores of respondents in Ugwachanya on certain questions provide some optimism for those concerned about the effectiveness of health education: where such educative efforts *are* linked to a concrete programme, such as the DANIDA project to pipe water to villages, then even in the poorest circumstances people learn and retain what they have learnt. But knowledge on its own cannot be turned to good account: there has to be a minimum infrastructure, a certain level of development before someone can practice what they have learnt.

3.2 Literacy and numeracy skills acquired

In terms of the literacy and numeracy tests, the overall scores are not particularly good, especially when compared with the 100 per cent pass rate obtained by control groups of Class IV pupils. 79 per cent, 69 per cent and 74 per cent passed the reading, writing and arithmetic tests, with 67 per cent passing overall (that is, obtaining at least the average pass mark on all three tests). The variations between locations, with respondents in Mbweera performing best and those in Ugwachanya worst, suggests a much more straightforward relation between performance and level of development (*see Table 14*). Thus, respondents in Mbweera and Kalinzi and those with some primary schooling or who read some books performed best; those from Buguruni and Ugwachanya performed worst. There was little difference in the performance of men and women and it was confounded with primary school attendance (*see Table 15*). Finally, there was hardly any observable relation between scores on the functional knowledge and attitude questions, and the test scores.

Table 14. Testscores in reading, writing and arithmetic by grades and location

	Numbers Taking test		Percentage passing level III or level IV in					
			Reading		Writing		Arithmetic	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Buguruni	16	31	94	74	63	61	63	35
Mbweera	22	33	86	82	86	70	91	79
Ugwachanya	27	57	68	61	93	68	85	64
Kalinzi	48	36	96	94	71	67	94	89
Total	113	157	88	76	78	67	87	67

Table 15. Percent passing overall test by gender and whether or not attended primary school

	Males			Females		
	Pr. Sch.	Not	All	Pr. Sch.	Not	All
Buguruni	58	(100)	69	78	15	52
Mbweera	94	(0)	86	81	33	73
Ugwachanya	87	(50)	81	76	20	57
Kalinzi	83	81	82	92	57	69

Note: Percentages in parentheses based on less than 5 respondents.

The analysis of retention, like in the Kenya study, did not suggest decay. First, it should be noted that the pass rates increased from 1981 (58 per cent) to 1983 (76 per cent) to 1986 (87 per cent), suggesting that many retook the tests several times. The scores on the current test, however, were best in Buguruni and Kalinzi for those who took the test in 1981 -- although the reverse was true in Mbweera (*see Table 16*). One account might be that, especially in Buguruni and Mbweera, the extra 'practice' has improved their skills; another possibility, given the mass nature of enrolment in literacy, is that the 'better' candidates pass first.

Table 16. Percent passing current test broken down by location and year of last literacy test

	1981	1983	1986
Buguruni	75	(0)	57
Mbweera	73	88	82
Ugwachanya	50	89	46
Kalinzi	81	57	(33)

There is, however, some 'trace' of the earlier tests in that there is a slight tendency for scores to be higher for those who had attained a higher score previously. This is particularly marked in Ugwachanya, suggesting the importance of educational inputs for those in Ugwachanya. The overall conclusions are that the overall pass rates are not very high, but as this appears unrelated to the time elapsed since the certification test, this is unlikely to be a question of decay; and that performance is directly related to the level of development of the community and to primary school attendance.

3.3 Developing and using literacy skills

Few had attended post-literacy classes (*see Table 17*), with the highest proportion in Kalinzi. There was no systematic variation in length of attendance between men and women or between locations. About a fifth are currently attending a post-literacy class.

Table 17. Those attending post-literacy classes

	Ever attended			Mean number of Years post-literacy		Percent currently attending
	No	% M + F	%F	M	F	
Buguruni	102	30	21	1.4	1.6	15
Mbweera	116	28	26	1.6	1.8	17
Ugwachanya	104	29	26	2.2	1.6	22
Kalinzi	94	38	32	1.9	1.8	18
	416	31	27	1.7	1.7	18

When asked about a specific list of post-literacy courses and workshops other than the regular post-literacy classes, more than half claimed to have attended a course. This was true in every location except Kalinzi. More interestingly, a substantial minority (35 per cent) had attended two or more courses, with 38 per cent of respondents in Ugwachanya attending

3 or more courses. Overall, more women (55 per cent) had attended post-literacy courses than men (49 per cent), and substantially more in Mbweera.

The most popular course was on health, attended by about a third overall (*Table 18*). There was a relatively clear gender preference for the different *types* of courses. Thus, in every location, men were more likely to have attended courses on agriculture and business. Women were more likely to have attended courses on child care and family planning. Rather surprisingly, the course on family life was attended more often by men (although the differences were small).

Again, respondents in Ugwachanya stand out with the largest attendances at courses on agriculture, child care, family life and health. It looks as if the complementary programme of health education where DANIDA installed water in the village referred to above included both men and women.

Table 18. Reported attendance at different types of post-literacy courses by location (percentages)

	Agriculture	Health	Family life	Family planning	Child care	Business/ other
Buguruni	21	33	21	9	31	22
Mbweera	10	22	11	34	17	7
Ugwachanya	45	52	32	10	38	14
Kalinzi	21	23	3	9	24	6
Overall	24	32	17	16	27	12

In contrast, only twelve, thirteen and sixteen of all the learners interviewed reported having attended respectively an evening class, a correspondence course or a residential course at a *Folk Development College*.

Another important question was to know to what extent new literates really use their newly acquired skills. Over one-third reported never or hardly ever reading, and one-half reported never or hardly ever writing or doing mental and written calculations. There is substantial variation between the locations in the percentage reporting either frequent reading of books or frequent writing, from under 12 per cent in Ugwachanya to over 27 per cent in Buguruni (*Table 19*). There are similar variations in the percentage reporting frequent mental and written calculations from around a third in Buguruni and to under a sixth in Kalinzi. In general, men reported more frequently reading, writing and calculating than women, but the differences are not huge.

Table 19. Frequency of using skills (percent reading quite frequently)

	Reading			Calculations	
	Books	Magazines	Writing	Mental	Written
Buguruni	28	51	27	29	36
Mbweera	27	13	18	24	26
Ugwachanya	12	8	12	14	21
Kalinzi	29	9	19	14	14
	24	20	19	21	25

The observed pattern between locations corresponds with what was observed in the field. Books (mainly religious and instructional books) are more widely distributed than magazines and newspapers. There is therefore less difference between villages in the frequency of book reading. Because of the advantages of access, respondents in Buguruni are more frequent magazine readers than anywhere else. They also write more often, although the differences with Kalinzi and Mbweera are less pronounced. In effect, respondents in Ugwachanya do not frequently use any of these skills. The importance of calculating is affected more by commercial considerations with respondents in Buguruni most likely to employ these skills, followed by those in Mbweera. The respondents in Ugwachanya make more use of these skills than those in Kalinzi because of their trade with passing traffic and, for women, their almost daily bargaining over the (re-)sale of bamboo juice.

Those reading books were asked which kinds of books they read and their answers have been grouped into three categories. About two-thirds report reading instructional books and religious books, and about a half other books (*Table 20*). There are substantial variations between locations, with instructional books and other books most popular in Ugwachanya and Buguruni; religious books most popular in Mbweera and Kalinzi.

There was no overall difference between men and women in the percentages reading instructional books, but more men read religious books everywhere, especially in Buguruni, and more men read other books except in Ugwachanya.

Table 20. Percentages in each area reading different kinds of books (N = 408)

	Instructional books	Percent reading religious books	Other books
Buguruni	77	53	64
Mbweera	53	88	43
Ugwachanya	83	62	52
Kalinzi	48	81	31
All locations	65	71	48

Among those reporting reading newspapers, about two-thirds reported reading Uhuru or other secular papers and one-third reported reading a religious paper (alone or together with a secular paper). These variations are enormous, with from 96 per cent claiming to read

Uhuru, etc. in Buguruni to 20 per cent in Kalinzi, and probably related to availability (*Table 21*). There are no obvious differences between men and women.

Table 21. Papers read in different region (N=277)

	Numbers reporting a specific paper	Among those percentage reading Uhuru etc.	Religious
Buguruni	83	89	4
Mbweera	72	75	24
Ugwachanya	73	37	58
Kalinzi	49	18	80
All locations	277	59	36

Among those reporting writing, about two-thirds claim to write letters, a third either calculations or letters and calculations. There are variations between locations with an approximately even split in Buguruni as compared to 3 : 1 in Kalinzi; but the differences are to be expected, given the remoteness of Kalinzi and the trading culture in Buguruni.

There is the expected relationship between primary school attendance and reading books. The variation in whether or not any books or magazines are read at all is quite large (*see Table 22*) with the major difference between those who received *any* schooling and those who did not.

Table 22. Relation between primary schooling and frequency of reading books or magazines

	Primary schooling			
Do You	None	Less than 4 years	4 years or more	Overall
Ever read books	63	87	93	81
Often	15	16	33	0
Ever read magazines	47	80	82	69
Often	8	22	27	0

Finally, as in the Kenya study, the major perceived benefits of literacy for the learner respondents were to learn how to read, write and count. Only a third of respondents gave any kind of economic or functional reason (*Table 23*), although this was more pronounced among those who had already been to school. Enthusiasm for the classes and literacy programme varied substantially between locations: according to the level of production and trade. In both Buguruni and Ugwachanya very few were positive towards literacy, having seen how their local leaders had reached their position without the 'advantage' of literacy. Commercial agriculture in Mbweera had developed to a stage where market information was seen as crucial and one of the few current literacy activities involved a group of businessmen who were anxious to avoid being cheated; equally, there was some, rather general, enthusiasm for literacy in Kalinzi seen as part of an expanding economy.

Table 23. Benefits of literacy (percentages of respondents)

	Reading		Writing			Economic	Household	General
	Gen.	Spec.	Gen.	Spec.	Arithmetic	reasons	reasons	statement
Buguruni	39	59	41	16	10	14	5	48
Mbweera	23	10	10	15	23	56	42	25
Ugwachanya	39	14	41	3	36	34	24	22
Kalinzi	70	11	56	7	40	32	15	19
No. responses	39	16	37	9	25	30	18	23

The importance of acquiring basic literacy skills in order to play a part in modern society is confirmed by learners' responses (*see Table 24*) when asked what they would like to learn next. However, whilst over a quarter said English as with the Kenyan study, considerably more of the Tanzanian respondents gave 'functional' responses -- wanting to learn more about agriculture, new skills and techniques to improve their income generating power, and so on. This interest to learn more practical skills is in marked contrast to the findings of the Kenyan study, and could probably be related to more general differences in the development patterns of the two countries.

Table 24. Aspirations for future learning (percentage of respondents)

	Buguruni	Mbweera	Ugwachanya	Kalinzi	Total
English	57	21	11	34	117
Arithmetic	15	7	7	20	46
Cookery and home economics	8	9	13	8	37
Technical subjects	8	10	8	18	42
Agriculture	4	37	25	32	94
Needlework	10	16	36	12	72
Political education	10	6	7	19	40
General	33	20	32	47	125

4. Implications of the research for policy

The most important point for a policy maker in the field of adult education is to recognise his audience (see also Carr-Hill, 1988). Here in Tanzania, the typical learner is not a young (male) truant who has avoided school; she is a middle-aged woman who has already had some primary schooling. Moreover, in the context of a mass programme in Tanzania, she is likely to be on the margins of her own society. Just as it is very difficult to enrol the last 10-15 per cent in primary school, so those on the margin may be the least able and certainly have the least motivation. Whilst the gender issue is important, this marginality is the most significant characteristic.

In terms of the programme, the findings from this study suggest two kinds of policy implication which, whilst not contradictory, do not easily complement each other. On the one hand, the marked difference in pattern between the scores on the functional knowledge and attitude questions and the scores on the modern practices questions, together with the results of the literacy and numeracy tests, shows both that education can, almost by itself, have a substantial effect on people, but that 'correct' knowledge and 'correct' attitudes do not necessarily engender the desired 'modern' behaviour. To achieve even this, the

educational input has to be improved and accompanied by some other, probably quite expensive, intervention, perceived as useful by the population and which would make literacy really functional.

There is clearly a need to revitalise the programme both in terms of learner (and teacher) attendance and in terms of infrastructural support. This has been difficult during the 1980s -- a period of general decline -- although the situation may now be changing. It is clearly inappropriate for the programme to continue with fictional classes, fictional learners and fictional teachers.

On the other hand, this study and the one in Kenya have shown the important influence of local living conditions upon the functioning and chances of success of a programme. On one level, this points to the importance of other complementary inputs: literacy will only be functional in the context of a developing economy. On another level, whilst it has been recognised that the contents of the primers should be locally relevant, local organisers also have to take into account the marked lack of enthusiasm and motivation for literacy among nearly all the actual, past and potential participants, together with their desire to learn English as well as the 'functional' skills. This confirms the importance of designing programmes 'from the bottom up'. A programme of adult education can only be successful if it starts from the problems as perceived by the participants and, together with them, searches for solutions. These solutions will almost certainly include literacy as one of the many essential problem-solving tools. Literacy has to be part of an integrated programme -- but this time integrated not from the point of view of the donor but of the recipient.

Literacy and numeracy are both, of course, basic human rights; but in isolation they mean little, both objectively in terms of actual impact on development, and subjectively in terms of the importance people attach to it. People will want to learn to read and write, and will do so quite quickly when it suits them -- not the state.

Of course, that these considerations are long-term and cannot be implemented quickly; moreover, it is clear that a fully successful programme will require extensive resources that will not be easily available. That being said, there are a number of internal features of the programmes where improvements should be possible in the short-term and without extensive resources.

First, the primers have already been criticised by several commentators. There is no basis in this study for a detailed criticism of their content, but it does seem clear that learners are more likely to be enthusiastic about them if they have had a hand in discussing their contents. Whilst it is not practicable to re-design already existing primers which still have a shelf-life, at the local level the needs and preferences of the learners could be taken into account more systematically in the organisation of the classes themselves.

Second, linked to the above, is the importance of ensuring that there are experienced and motivated teachers available for the classes. Again, whilst it is not possible to pay them a substantial salary, field observations suggested that there was very little infrastructural support for the programme; this could be reinforced as the personnel are already in post.

Third, the importance of ensuring that there is some form of post-literacy activity cannot be too highly emphasized. Whilst it appears that the programme is relatively successful, albeit with considerable effort, in inculcating literacy and numeracy, there is little point unless the literacy classes are followed up by post-literacy activities in which the learners are interested.

It is not, of course, appropriate in a study such as this to lay down detailed prescriptions for national policy. However, it is be hoped that the issues discussed in the report will help the national authorities in revitalising the Tanzanian literacy programme so that it can once more be the envy of the developing world.

Chapter 4

The workshop

The workshop was held at Morogoro, Tanzania, 10-12 October 1990 and was sponsored by the *Department of Adult Education* (DAE), the *Swedish International Development Agency* (SIDA), and by the *International Institute for Educational Planning* (IIEP), all of whom had participated actively in the research. The workshop was held at a very appropriate time in the aftermath of *the Conference on Education for All by the Year 2000*, held at Jomtien in Thailand. Moreover, in the Tanzanian context, there has been some recent debate as to the best way forward for the programme.

The objectives of the workshop were the following:

- to review the findings presented in the report of the Tanzanian research project and to analyse their implications for the organisation of the literacy programme in the country and elsewhere;
- to discuss the special research approach and methods adopted and to examine their relevance for other countries in the Region.

1. Organisation and participation

There were 37 participants in the workshop, including:

- Seven participants from the Department of Adult Education, including one field officer from each of the four localities.
- Thirteen other Tanzanian participants representing the national research community, other interested governmental departments and non-governmental organisations.
- Seven representatives (including both adult education administrators and researchers) from other countries in the Region (Botswana, Kenya and Malawi).
- Six international participants representing international organisations, viz. Canadian Organisation for Development through Education (CODE), SIDA, UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, as well as the IIEP.
- Four members of the research team.

A complete list of participants is given in Appendix I.

The workshop lasted three days. The first two days were devoted to the presentation of the Tanzanian report and its implications for the organisation of literacy programmes under three major headings: the characteristics and functioning of the literacy classes, the characteristics and motivations of the learners and, finally, the effects of the programme. On the morning of the third day, participants from other countries were asked to present their experiences and relate them to the Tanzanian experience; and the workshop concluded by exploring the possibilities for follow-up action. (A detailed programme is given in Appendix II.)

2. Discussions in the workshop

The workshop examined each of the research findings in great detail, each theme being briefly introduced by a member of the research team and commented upon by two discussants, one national and one international. Many useful comments were made which have been incorporated into the revised version of the research report. But the main value of the workshop was in the discussion of the main findings of the research. One major theme dominated the discussion: the apparent collapse of the Tanzanian literacy programme since the committment and enthusiasm of the 1970s and early 1980s.

Several factors which might explain the present situation were examined. One major factor is the worsening economic conditions, which mean that learners have less time to devote to classes. The researchers also examined the possibilities that either Universal Primary Education or the Literacy Programme itself had been so successful that the programme was no longer needed, and conversely the possibilities that the lack of materials and of support from the centre made the programme difficult to sustain, but found all of these to be implausible. On the other hand, it seemed clear that the educators were inadequately trained and had little incentive, and this was clearly a contributory factor.

Nevertheless, the major point is simply that people are less convinced that literacy programmes can solve their development problems. The worsening economic conditions have made people's daily lives very difficult, which means that learners have other priority needs and also less time to devote to classes. This implies that special efforts have to be made to make the programmes more attractive to the wide diversity of potential learners and learning situations. Recognising and responding to this diversity was the dominant theme in the discussions.

2.1 The clients

The starting point for any literacy programme is the potential learner. Who is she? What does she want? According to the research carried out here in Tanzania and presented at the workshop, 57 per cent were women, 52 per cent were between 30 and 44, and 47 per cent reported having attended 4 or more years of primary schooling.

The potential learner in Tanzania is therefore probably middle-aged, from the poorer segment of her own community, and has already attended some primary school. She does not believe that literacy will solve her problems but she would like to learn to read and write and do simple arithmetic. She wants to be respected as an adult, not treated like a child,

especially after her negative experiences of primary school. In particular, whilst National testing obviously serves a useful monitoring function, it may be counter-productive from the point of view of the participant. Finally, if learning to read, write and count can be associated with income generation, that would be wonderful, but she does not want to waste her time on a project which is badly organised and where her labours bear no fruit.

It must be emphasized again that this pen-portrait should not be cast into tablets of stone. Whilst women are a majority in many literacy programmes around the world, they are not the only clients for a revised literacy programme. The Tanzanian profile is specific to the historical expansion of primary education in the late 1970s. Thus, after the *Arusha Declaration* of 1968 and the *Musoma Resolution* of 1974, there was a crash programme of distance training of teachers in order to enrol all children of school age in 1977. Whilst there was a substantial drop-out from that cohort, the majority of that cohort who are now between 20 and 30 did spend 4 years in school. However, with the recession affecting both the ability of governments to provide an effective primary education and the willingness of parents to forego the additional labour, there has been a fall-off in new enrolments. So there may well be an emerging group of young, primary school drop-outs, with possibly an important proportion of males; and urban youth may be a special sub-group within that group. Another group for whom provision is known to be rare-to-vanishing in many countries are the nomads; and to these have to be added the special problems of Africa's permanent mass of refugees (with the *official* count averaging over 4 millions for the last 10 years).

These various groups -- and possibly many others -- have different interests, needs and preferences for what they might learn *via* a literacy programme, and how. The challenge for the local organiser is to stimulate and sustain their varying demands; and that depends, crucially, on the quality of the programme he is offering and on his capacity to adapt the programmes to the specific needs of different client groups.

2.2 Teachers

The job of an adult educator has never been easy: being equipped to respond to diversity is even more difficult. She/he has to be an experienced, mature teacher who can be creative and inventive in responding to the specific needs of different groups of learners; and she/he has to be capable of employing participatory learning and teaching words. Ideally, she/he should be rooted in the community.

But the research in Tanzania has shown how the majority of adult educators are very poorly trained; many are young and a significant minority (16 per cent) had not even completed the primary cycle of education. However, the majority (74 per cent) were from the same area as their current posting.

Similarly, the immediate institutional form of support, the centre committees were themselves hardly functioning. But serious questions were raised as to how useful and effective they could be on their own. Indeed, it was emphasized that the motivation of learners should not be considered the sole responsibility of adult teachers; other extension workers have a role to play and there was very little evidence of their intervention in this research.

There is no easy solution. Whilst adult educators have to be properly trained with an incentive structure, there is a tendency for qualified personnel to drift to the town. Finding ways of retaining well qualified local people is complex, although it would help if there were in-service support and if there were resource centres available to them.

2.3 Content of the programme

There is no doubt that, as with basic education, the crucial first step is to adequately train teachers; but the other resources available to them are also important. According to the research, the physical teaching and learning conditions were not as disastrous as might have been expected. Although there were some suggestions that children's desks and seats were inappropriate for adults, there were few complaints in the research about inadequate seating; similarly, although not everyone had an exercise book or a primer, most teachers reported at least one between two, and sufficient other materials such as chalk, etc.

A more serious complaint was about the content of the primers and about the pedagogical methods employed. The primers in the Tanzanian campaign have been centrally written, designed and produced, with little local involvement. There is an attempt to distribute those primers which are most appropriate to the community's economic activity, although the research showed that this did not always occur (with respondents in Buguruni, for example, reporting primers on fishing and on maize). But the lack of any local involvement is striking: for example, by incorporating some oral history from local communities or by asking groups of learners what kind of material they would like to see in the primers.

Moreover, it is not just a question of whether the content of the primers is appropriate, but how they are used. Primers should not be used mechanically, but should be a basis for the teaching/learning experience in the class. The teacher should effectively design a course with the learners around the primers.

Finally, the issue of functionality: a consensus emerged at the workshop, that whether or not a course was seen as functional depended on your standpoint. Functional for planners, for local administrators, for teachers or for the learners?; and further for some learners learning to read and write was itself the most functional aspect of a course. The concept of functionality as 'work-oriented literacy' should be dropped and be replaced with a concept of functionality as 'that which is responsive to the learners' needs'.

Where project work is seen as appropriate, it should include the application of literacy and numeracy skills; in turn, literacy and numeracy work should draw on the project work for practical examples. The fundamental point is that project work should not substitute for the literacy and numeracy work: given that the programme is already long, participants may be discouraged unless they can see progress in terms of literacy and numeracy skills.

2.4 Post-literacy

It was emphasized in the workshop that post-literacy should not be seen as simply a question of laying on more and more classes. Further classes will be relevant for some

people, but they have to be strictly voluntary and it is likely to be only a minority who will want more of the same. In the Tanzanian case, the observation that a third had attended post-literacy classes sounds about right. The real issue is not how to develop more classes, but how to strengthen the skills acquired. At the workshop, the favoured avenue was to create a friendly environment with the accent on rural libraries and on rural newspapers. The situation in Tanzania, with very few of designated rural libraries actually functioning, and with a serious lack of personnel, was noted. More seriously, the acute lack of titles in Swahili was of concern, and it was stressed that it was important to make available 'interesting, relevant materials with great variety which suppose a healthy publishing industry, a good distribution network and libraries'.

The difficulties encountered in producing and distributing rural newspapers were also discussed and various suggestions were made. The existing content (page 1, international and national news; page 2, zonal news; page 3, readers' forum; and page 4, a feature article) was found to be interesting. But it was stressed that the contents should be not only instructional and serious but should be lively as well as informative.

It should be recognised that the whole area of continuing education is a very diverse and varied one, ranging from community life skills to literacy as such. In this context, the potential role of the *Folk Development Colleges* -- as one of the potential partners in post-literacy efforts -- was mentioned. But it needs to be understood that, whilst very desirable, the co-ordination of efforts by several agencies is costly in both time and resources and encounters both bureaucratic obstacles and little motivation to work together among field agents. Nevertheless, co-ordinated joint efforts do produce the best results, and despite the difficulty, intersectional co-operation for literacy has to be provided.

2.5 Monitoring and evaluation

It needs to be stressed that no country has reliable data on educational activities outside the formal school system. The reasons are both methodological (what is the basic unit when course lengths vary?) and practical (few organisers are interested or motivated to keep reliable records). Nevertheless, there is a real need to constitute a good information base about literacy and, consequently, a need to train local-level organisers in simple monitoring techniques.

The prospects for evaluation are even more complicated. Whilst regular full-scale evaluation of programmes is not feasible and is probably not necessary, there probably is a place for carrying out a rolling programme of evaluations around the country using even simpler tools than the ones used in this research. The big issue is the extent to which learners should be assessed and tested. There is growing international pressure to assess and test using standard instruments, and this was reinforced by the *Jomtien Conference Declaration*. But experience from other countries suggested that many learners were alienated by the testing process ('just like school') and that the existence of a test may have a discouraging effect upon the learner.

It is clearly important to avoid any assessment being used for selection or classification. But there is a more serious issue in the fields of literacy and numeracy. There simply is no international consensus on a definition of literacy and numeracy which could be

used as the basis for a test instrument. Any evaluation must be locally organised and be formative rather than summative. There is a need to develop simple tools which can be used flexibly by local organisers to show learners how they are getting on. For example, the test developed in Tanzania which is a simple tool with four levels could perhaps be extended so as to be useful in richer areas where nearly everyone can reach the basic criterion of literacy (Level III).

Chapter 5

Developing appropriate policies

First, it is crucial to understand that the context has changed. Adult literacy is no longer a priority of governments and of the international community. In Tanzania, the Department of Adult Education's share of the government budget for education has declined from 10 per cent in the early 1970s to 7 per cent of a relatively smaller budget. The donors are much less ready to pour money into a mass campaign. And, in the context of a recession where many have to struggle to survive, the population is less willing to believe that achieving literacy will automatically bring about development.

So it should not be surprising that this research has found that the programme has effectively collapsed, that people see little direct benefit in literacy, or that the local leaders are not working hard to recruit them into the programme. Recognising that the situation has changed is the first essential step to working out feasible approaches to revising the programme.

The main implication is that the numbers game is over: the emphasis should move away from targets for a national campaign towards a decentralised and diversified, locally controlled, target group strategy. Not only is it impossible to centrally fund a massive national campaign, it has also been shown to be ineffective -- with learners typically taking three years to reach even a minimum level -- and often inappropriate because the content and delivery of the programme do not correspond to learners' needs. Instead, local coordinators have to design programmes which are relevant to the various groups in the community on the basis of a careful assessment of their needs. The role of the centre is to provide logistic and technical support; the centre cannot design a decentralised, participative programme.

Decentralisation, participation: these are fine words, very much in fashion. It therefore needs to be emphasized that this diversified, local strategy is not a panacea. Because factors play a different role according to the context, the local organiser needs to make an assessment of his target population and of their needs. This is not easy; furthermore, not every local administrator is capable of organising a flexible and varied suite of programmes, nor will regaining the confidence and support of the community be easy. Moreover, community 'participation' must not be limited simply to contributions to an externally designed project; without any form of control, community participation soon melts away. But whilst it is not an easy strategy, it is the only one with any chance of success.

Two kinds of suggestions were made: those concerned with the *programme* itself and those concerned with *research*.

1. Policies and programmes

1.1 Gender issues

The importance of the gender issue was stressed and special attention paid to women in research was seen as valuable. However, it was agreed that it was important not to isolate women as a special group and that the under-privileged situation of women concerns both men and women. There should be further exploration of how gender issues can be taken up by both men and women. This should not be restricted to the content of the primers but should look at wider organisational issues such as the calendar and timing of classes, how to persuade men that improving the literacy skills of village women was also in their interest, etc.

1.2 Language

There was a need to strengthen co-operation between countries in the use of Kiswahili: efforts should be made to standardise grammar and vocabulary, etc. and to facilitate the common use of teaching materials, etc.

At the same time, it was stressed that Kiswahili was still a second language for many potential learners, and especially for women. In nearly every country, women speak the national language less well. In some cases, therefore, it may be more appropriate to start teaching adults basic literacy skills in their mother tongue.

1.3 Regional co-operation

Co-operation on the development of language has already been mentioned. But there was a general feeling in the workshop that much more could be done to exchange not only materials (primers, newspapers, cassettes, etc.) but also in training, etc.

Indeed, one suggestion was that, on the basis of the experience of the two research studies in Kenya and Tanzania and the new international push towards *Education For All*, there was an opportunity to develop a new set of policies towards adult literacy in the Region, taking into account the changes discussed above. For example, it might be appropriate to design a consultation exercise leading towards the preparation of a policy paper for discussion by delegates from several countries in the Region.

1.4 Training

It is clear that the training and supervision of adult educators can sometimes be very minimal indeed.

Training packages need to be developed which are appropriate to the shifts in emphasis discussed above. Skills like needs assessment and participatory management are not yet part of the typical training of local level personnel. Ways have to be found of providing career incentives and reinforcing supervision and in-service support in the field.

2. Research issues

Research of the kind reported here was seen as very valuable, and it was hoped that other countries could be induced to carry out similar studies. Moreover, it was agreed that it would be very useful to carry out a synthetic analysis of the Kenyan and Tanzanian findings. Besides this, two priority areas of further research were identified as follows:

2.1 Effectiveness

An exchange of experiences and eventually research studies were needed on the conditions under which effective programmes can be organised for special groups -- for example, nomads, refugees and street children. The UNESCO/UNICEF programme in the region already includes work on street children this calendar year, and will be focussing on nomads next year; perhaps these could be a basis for further work.

One way this might be developed would be to search out success stories in 'reaching' these special groups and disseminating them widely for discussion.

2.2 Post-literacy

The current research studies had more or less ignored post-literacy, but there was clearly a need for expanding our knowledge base about the effectiveness and the cost of programmes like rural libraries and rural newspapers.

Appendices

Appendix I

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Appendix II

Programme of the Workshop

Wednesday, 10 October 1990		**Chairperson**
9.00 - 10.00	Registration	
10.00 - 11.00	Official Opening Address by the Representative of the International Institute for Educational Planning: G. Carron Address by the Honourable Minister of Education: A. H. Mayagila, M.P. Vote of thanks by one of the participants	Z. J. Mpogolo
11.00 - 11.30	Tea break	
11.30 - 12.30	Background information about the Tanzania literacy programme, the issues and current strategies: Z.J. Mpogolo Background information about the research project: G. Carron, A. Kweka, R. Carr-Hill	G. Carron
12.30 - 14.00	Lunch break	
14.00 - 15.30	Theme 1: The teaching/learning conditions and the functioning of the literacy centres (Chapter VII) Presentation of the main research conclusions: Research team: G. Carron, R.A Carr-Hill, A.N. Kweka, M.J. Rusimbi Discussants: Mgulambwa, M. Kilemi	M. George
15.30 - 16.00	Tea break	
16.00 - 17.30	General discussion	
Thursday, 11 October 1990		
9.00 - 10.30	Theme 2: The characteristics of the Literacy learners their home environment, learning experience and motivations (Chapters V, VI, IX) Presentation of the main research conclusion Research team: G. Carron, R.A. Carr-Hill, A.N. Kweka, M.J. Rusimbi Discussants: M. Mahai, M. Righa	Kirui, D.

Chairperson

10.30 - 11.00	Tea break	
11.00 - 12.30	General discussion	
12.30 - 14.00	Lunch break	
14.00 - 15.30	Theme 3: The effects of the literacy programme The level of acquisitionof functional skills, knowledge and attitudes and of literacy and numeracy skills; and the practical use of these skills and knowledge in the daily life (Chapters VIII, IX, X) Presentation of the main research conclusions: Research team: G. Carron, R.A Carr-Hill, A.N. Kweka, M.J. Rusimbi Discussants: N.P. Swai, M.J. Kinunda	L.R. Kamtengeni
15.30 - 16.00	Tea break	
16.00 - 17.30	General discussion	

Friday, 12 October 1990

9.00 - 11.00	Theme 4: Learning from other countries: Botswana, Kenya, Zambia	Z.J. Mpogolo
11.00 - 11.30	Tea break	
11.30 - 13.00	Theme 5: Implications of the previous discussion for the planning and administration of literacy programmes	G. Carron
	General debate	
13.00 - 14.30	Lunch break	
14.30 - 16.00	General conclusions and recommendations	
16.00 - 16.30	Tea break	
16.30 - 17.00	Closing ceremony	

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Chairman:
Victor Urquidi, (Mexico) Research Professor Emeritus, El Colegio de México, Mexico.

Designated Members:
Charles Boelen, Chief Medical Officer for Educational Planning, Methodology and Evaluation, Division of Health Manpower Development, World Health Organisation.
Goran Ohlin, Assistant Secretary-General, Office for Development, Research and Policy Analysis, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations.
Visvanathan Rajagopalan, Vice President, Sector Policy and Research, Policy, Planning and Research, The World Bank.
Jeggan C. Senghor, Director, African Institute for Economic Development and Planning.

*Elected Members * :*
Isao Amagi, (Japan), Special Advisor to the Minister of Education, Science and Culture, Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Tokyo.
Henri Bartoli, (France), Professor, University of Paris I, Pantheon-Sorbonne. Paris.
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